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***A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON  
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA  
(Received in January 1984)***

***March 1984***

***Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss***

## PREFACE

This bibliography is the fourth issue of a monthly series on the nations of South Asia. Countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. There is a general South Asia section for works having multilateral implications. The compilation is selective and is intended primarily as a reference work to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economies of the nations concerned. Material included is both retrospective and current, and represents works received, cataloged, indexed, or published during January 1984.

Citations with accompanying abstracts are listed by country initially and then alphabetically by author within each country section. Citations unaccompanied by abstracts indicate that the actual copy of the cited work was not on hand at the time of this compilation. Such material will be abstracted in a subsequent issue.

Word processing was accomplished by Angela M. Bloom.

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY  
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AFGHANISTAN

Chopra, Surendra, ed. Perspectives on Pakistan's Foreign Policy. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1983. 467 pp.

This collection of essays by Indian and American scholars provides a view of its subject so comprehensive that there are separate chapters on all South Asian nations from the Pakistan point of view. The essays range from competent to excellent, and their biases similarly vary. The only country which consistently comes in for more abuse than India--toward which the authors show an acceptance bred of familiarity--is the United States. The scholarship is uniformly excellent, making this a useful reference work. (index)

Gall, Sandy. Behind Russian Lines: An Afghan Journal. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1983. 194 pp.

The author is a prominent British journalist who has worked worldwide in both war and peace; he ably combines a sense of Afghanistan's historical roles with a detached account of its current fate. The trip he narrates took place in 1982 in the company of Ahmad Shah Masud's Panjsher Valley units; this prominent mujahiddin leader is a key character in the tale. Another companion was a French doctor, who proved a valuable addition when a major Russian offensive rolled into the valley. A keen display of humor, irony, and humanity make this book attractive to general readers as well as specialists. (photographs)

Isby, David C. "Afghanistan: After Five Years, What's Next?" Soldier of Fortune, March 1984, p.46.

This article deserves to appear in a more widely circulated publication, for it concisely and effectively details the bleak, long-term prospects for Afghanistan from a military point of view. Isby maintains the mujahiddin can win battles, but not wars, while they are so severely out-gunned. The Soviets, he says, "want Afghanistan but not the Afghans." Isby does not spare the mujahiddin, as he enumerates tactical mistakes by which they have squandered precious ammunition, and he places importance on their recently opened training camp. He concludes this discussion with speculation on the radical fundamentalist leader Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, who is rumored to have closed a deal with the Soviets. Isby researches Soviet history to find examples of fundamentalist Muslims who preferred alliance with total atheists to cooperation with less strict Muslims. This article is brief and indispensable to evaluating Afghanistan's future.

"The Sovietization of Afghanistan." Journal of Defense and Diplomacy, vol. 1 (July 1983), p. 38.

This article gives special attention to the economic dislocations which have been part of the Soviet occupation, and the long-term strategy which is revealed. In particular, the author points out that the Soviets have made themselves an extraordinarily advantageous deal on the extraction of natural gas, which is measured on their side of the border when it enters for refining. The education of thousands of Afghan schoolchildren in the USSR suggests that the Soviets have adopted a generational time-frame in which to pursue their goals. (This is a new publication from Washington, D.C.)

#### BANGLADESH

Ahmad, Parvenn. "The Unsung Heroines." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 January 1984, p. 26.

The 1971-72 war flooded Bangladesh with unabsorbable numbers of widows and fatherless girls, many of whom were forced to work outside the home. Married women have now also joined the workforce, propelled not so much by the affluence associated with Western feminism as by the grinding poverty of Third World "liberations." The article chronicles several different types of careers, from a homeless dishwasher to an unmarried daughter who is working in a small town. One woman was divorced by her husband after she celebrated the birth of her third child with a sterilization; since she has become a wage earner, he has sought a reconciliation, but she has refused.

Chopra, Surendra, ed. Perspectives on Pakistan's Foreign Policy. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1983. 467 pp.

This collection of essays by Indian and American scholars provides a view of its subject so comprehensive that there are separate chapters on all South Asian nations from Pakistan's point of view. The essays range from competent to excellent, and their biases similarly vary. The only country which consistently comes in for more abuse than India--toward which the authors show an acceptance bred of familiarity--is the United States. The scholarship is uniformly excellent, making this a useful reference work. (index)

"Ershad Proclaims Himself President." Asiaweek, 23 December 1983, p. 18.

Lt Gen Hussain Mohammed Ershad, Chief Martial Law Administrator, has declared himself president following the "voluntary" resignation of his figurehead predecessor. Among the measures reflected in his announcement is the recent creation of 490 semiautonomous administrative units, called upazillas, to carry on local development work. Ershad made repeated trips to villages establishing these units, and apparently these contacts led him to think of himself as a politician. The fragmented opposition parties have not had the same opportunities for touring the rural areas, but may have gained some public sympathy following the violence of last 28 November, which tended to remind people of Ershad's military background and his undemocratic seizure of power.

Kamaluddin, S. "Collision Course." Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 February 1984, p. 24.

Ershad's announced plans for elections, and his goal of becoming an elected head of state, have met with favor from many Bangladeshis. In forming the upazilla system for rural development, he has given many people a greater sense of control over their own fates. However, the opposition parties will not give up, and have scheduled a general strike on 1 March. But the alliances among them do not run deep, even on such questions as which constitution or model of government is to be preferred. More dangerously, they persist in misconstruing Ershad's accommodation as a sign of weakness; there are limits beyond which the military will not let him go. Campus violence is increasing.

Kamaluddin, S. "Empty Seats at Table." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 January 1984, p. 34.

When violence followed a resumption of legal political activities in November, Ershad reinstituted the ban. Now he is trying a more cautious liberalization: allowing indoor political meetings, seeking dialogues with opposition leaders, and raising the possibility that parliament will be elected ahead of the president, as the opposition demands. At the same time, he has continued devolving power to new local bodies, so that even when parliament is constituted, its members will have far less economic clout than before. Military hardliners think the self-proclaimed president is moving too fast, but he remains adamant about the return to democracy.

Kamaluddin, S. "A Tactical Withdrawal." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 January 1984, p. 22.

Even the chief of the main opposition party, the Awami League, has now conceded that Ershad has rural support for his electioneering, and there is no equivalent concern about whether parliamentary elections come first, as the opposition demands. Thus a strike announced for 20 December was called off, and political activities are beginning to take shape under Ershad's general program. In Dhaka, speculation suggests that Ershad may decide to hold parliamentary elections first anyway. The main result of the uproar is the apparent emergence of female survivors of former heads of government as acceptable opposition leaders.

Mitra, Sumit. "Change of Garb." India Today, 31 December 1983, p. 125.

This scathing report weaves together several threads: past performances of martial law leaders whose female survivors today are opposition party leaders; who follows these women; what they advocate; the restrictions Ershad has placed on political activity; and how the public perceives all these things. Outside Dhaka, interest apparently does not run deep regarding the opposition's chosen issues. There are various prospective constitutions being bandied about; the one preferred by Mrs. Hasina Wajad, key opposition leader and daughter of Mujibur Rahman, is patterned after India's and was the first in effect when Bangladesh gained independence from Pakistan. An interview with Mrs. Wajad accompanies the article.

"Sweeping Dissent Under a Red Carpet." The Economist, 3 December 1983, p. 40.

"The democratic pretensions of General H. M. Ershad, self-selected ruler of Bangladesh, were stripped away this week in the discomfiting glare of world attention." Thus begins this article, which goes on to compare Ershad with President Zia of Pakistan, and to enumerate the measures which Ershad undertook to get protesters off the streets for the Islamic Conference. The article explains the recent, highly publicized eviction of several Soviet diplomats and the closing of the Soviet cultural center as an attempt to distract public attention away from the political crackdown.

#### BHUTAN

Bhattacharya, S. S. "Planning in Bhutan." IDSA Journal, vol. XIV (April-June 1982), p. 617.

The story of the development of Bhutan's economy is the story of an Indian foreign aid project. The first undertaking in the 1950s concentrated on building roads suitable for motor vehicles, particularly roads connecting Bhutan and India. Now Bhutan has been able, with Indian planners, to establish handicraft factories, to promote tourism and philately, to send students to a variety of nations for education, and to provide hospitals and clinics. Bhutan's primary economic relationship continues to be with India, but Bhutanese products are finding markets in Western Europe, the Middle East, and Singapore. (appendix, tables)

Hasan, H. F. "Bhutan: The Last Shangri-La." Bangladesh Today, 16 November 1983, p. 12.

This extensive article recounts the reporter's get-acquainted trip to Bhutan, the poorest nation in the world. He finds contrasts between the old and new, but recognizes a general self-sufficiency which makes the lifestyle gap between Bhutan's poor and Bangladesh's poor far greater than the income gap suggests. He talked with citizens and officials about both domestic and foreign affairs. Sidebars profile capital formation (most by foreign grants), foreign relations (India is the key), and the monarch (young and active in government). There is ample description of the beautiful kingdom, photographs of people and places, as well as statistical, historical, and cultural information. (This is a new publication from Dhaka.)

#### INDIA

Ali, Salamat. ". . . And an Old Embrace." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 January 1984, p. 50.

Increased Soviet economic relations with Pakistan in no way lessen the USSR's commitment to India. In December Moscow hosted an Indian delegation to discuss atomic energy projects. In the debate that followed, Indian nuclear

scientists were divided on the longrun value of the technology, particularly in view of its application to armaments development and to the proliferation issue worldwide. Other Soviet offers include modernization of steel plants and expansion of capacity in processing various metals. The article also enumerates additional trade and scientific protocols between the USSR and India.

Ali, Salamat. "Trouble in Tinsel-Land." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 January 1984, p. 30.

Tamil Nadu is a south Indian state whose separate language spawned a patriotic non-Hindi film industry which in turn engendered a tradition of using movie stardom as a stepping stone to political power. Two such individuals have become arch-rivals, leading their own parties. One is Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran, who has immense popularity in the many rural areas where he has provided social services and buildings. However, Tamil Nadu has severe poverty which threatens its agricultural productivity and the state has failed to attract substantial industrialization, thus leaving its citizens unable to compete successfully outside their home state. Cultural pride of xenophobic intensity has also forced the state to ignore the comings and goings of Sri Lankan Tamil terrorists during that nation's recent ethnic troubles. Mrs. Gandhi, whose party lost the state in 1967 and shows no signs of gaining it back, is considering various prospects for forming a coalition with either of the two popular leaders.

Anand, J.P. "The Law of the Sea: India and the Indian Ocean." IDSA Journal, vol. XIV (April-June 1982), p. 581.

This article discusses India's various coastal operations and the diplomatic efforts which the country has made to protect its maritime advantages. India remains committed to the Law of the Sea, and is the only developing country to be named a "Pioneer Investor." This gives India special rights to explore the ocean floor in conjunction with UN operations, in return for sharing relevant technology. This status reflects the amount of exploration India has already undertaken. The article gives background on the Law of the Sea, and closes with India's negative reaction to President Reagan's rejection of the treaty, which took 10 years to negotiate.

Bobb, Dilip. "The General's Story." India Today, 31 December 1983, p. 62.

When the new Army Chief of Staff was announced, the man who had been groomed for the job found himself passed over in favor of someone with connections in the Prime Minister's immediate circle. Lt Gen S. K. Sinha, the officer who was passed over, immediately took early retirement, and has since refused to pander to the sensationalist aspects of this rebuff dealt to him by the government. For this reserve he has won wide respect, which will allow him to remain in the public eye for some time, possibly in the politics of Bihar, his home state. The article relates not only the inconsiderate manner in which he was treated by the government, but also the crude attempts made to smooth over the precipitate decision.



Bobb, Dilip and Gupta, Shekhar. "The Spy Trade." India Today, 31 December 1983, p. 14.

This overview of the Indian intelligence system explores several problems hinted at by the recent selling of official secrets. Former military officers, such as those implicated in the 1983 scandal, easily succumb to temptation from the arms traders when they abruptly lose the money and handsome perquisites which accompanied official rank. The result is a growing intimacy between the military and private armaments sector. Intelligence organizations set up to gather information are not only inefficiently structured internally, but co-exist with each other on terms approaching redundancy. Moreover, these services (except the well-financed Research and Analysis Wing) have neglected the cultivation of sources to such an extent that they now compete only in breaking stories heard secondhand. The authors mention recruitment techniques commonly employed in the troubled border states of Punjab and Assam, as well as against external threats from China and Pakistan. Sidebars highlight the strong CIA connection during the 1960s and attempts to establish bases in the region for US spy planes.

Chaddah, Mehar Singh. Are Sikhs a Nation? Delhi: Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee, 1982. 136 pp.

The author, now retired from the Indian Judicial Service and a former member of commissions of inquiry into communal disturbances, defines nationhood in such a way that Sikhs qualify as a nation. However, he insists that a nation is not necessarily a territorial entity, and that Sikhism has a safe home in secular India. This is a brief, extremely informative guide to Sikhism, in which Chaddah differentiates between his own heritage and Hinduism, placing special emphasis on the equality of all Sikhs, including women. He quotes the hymns and chants with which Sikhs mark life's major ceremonies, and briefly profiles the founding Gurus. Finally, he conveys the impression that even Sikhs who oppose Khalistan take singular pride in their cultural identity.

Chawla, Prabhu. "Qualified Success." India Today, 15 January 1984, p. 48.

By-elections in December revealed that the Congress-I Party is in trouble even where it managed to win or hold seats. However, other parties, particularly the Janata, fared worse. The elections took place in the Hindi-speaking northern states which are considered Mrs. Gandhi's stronghold but Congress-I drew fewer votes than the opposition. Congress-I triumphed because several opposition parties split votes in hotly contested races. Where the Congress-I lost seats, the blame is being concentrated on indifferent chief ministers. If the opposition parties should manage to unite and form a coalition in a general election, it is unlikely that Congress-I would succeed even in areas considered to be its heartland.

Chopra, Surendra, ed. Perspectives on Pakistan's Foreign Policy. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1983. 467 pp.

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Durrani, Shafiq. "Militancy Makes the Running in Punjab." Arabia, the Islamic World Review, December 1983, p. 14.

Mrs. Gandhi has honed the sharp point of communal violence in Punjab by withholding negotiating opportunities from the moderate political force, Akali Dal. Her fear was that success in settling problems in the heavily Sikh state would have made the Akali Dal a strong electoral opponent facing her Congress-I Party. Therefore, extremist Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale has become the state's most influential Sikh. In an accompanying interview, he says sarcastically that if Pakistan is behind the unrest, the federal government has the job of defending the country. He declares that the refusal to impose Presidential Rule until after six Hindus had been murdered, when much larger numbers of Sikhs had already been killed by Hindu police, shows that Mrs. Gandhi values Hindu lives more than Sikhs. Moslems, he says, can expect the same cavalier disregard, since every politician's platform these days seems to be the defense of Hindu communal sentiments.

Duyker, Ed. "The Naxalite Strategic Failure." Defence Forces Journal, September-October 1983, p. 49.

Although this article uses military analogies to explain why the Naxalbari tribe of West Bengal was unable to evict the government of India from tribal territory, the author notes that the guerrilla group never created a political base which would have supported long-range success. Duyker emphasizes that the geographic basing of insurgent groups wherever they were recruited, instead of deploying them for mobility, was a tactical disaster. Regarding weapons, he says that Naxalites made two major errors: neglecting external assistance and insisting on the use of primitive agricultural implements until quite late in the game. The fault seems to have lain in the ideas of their rigidly opinionated Maoist leader, Charu Mazumdar. The bibliography will be useful not only to students of Indian insurgencies, but of guerrilla movements in general. (map)

Gupta, Shehkar. "Fortress for the Faith." India Today, 31 December 1983, p. 70.

Violence is anticipated in the Golden Temple of the Sikhs, where militant separatist Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale has relocated to an inner building. The outer buildings are being reinforced with sandbags, and, in the

streets, Sikhs who never before did so have started carrying guns. The article profiles several of the more radical figures in the Khalistan movement, and gives speculations by various officials on the likelihood of violence. What emerges is the sad consensus that Prime Minister Gandhi has so far displayed such great insensitivity that people fear she will let the extremists overpower the moderates rather than face the latter in upcoming elections. Indian President Giani Zail Singh, a Sikh, is credited with raising a voice for moderation to the extent allowed by his largely ceremonial office. A sidebar profiles Bhindranwale at home in the Golden Temple, where he has sought sanctuary.

Hardgrave, Robert L. "The Northeast, the Punjab and the Regionalization of Indian Politics." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (November 1983), p. 1171.

Parochial political movements based on language, religion, and ethnic affiliation are the subject of this brief survey of the regional challenges facing New Delhi. Hardgrave argues that the process of federalism (termed "an invitation to struggle") is itself a contentious issue which has the potential to divide as well as to parcel out power and wealth. Hardgrave analyzes the ongoing political agitation in Punjab and Assam, and suggests the shape for a possible political solution to these problems.

"Not-so-United Fronts." Arabia, the Islamic World Review, December 1983, p. 16.

India's opposition parties have been driven to hasty marriage by the fear of snap elections during 1984. The two coalitions involve parties which are merely state or regional organizations, and among whom a national scope has not evolved. Consequently, both groups have downplayed economic and policy issues for fear of divorce. If elections are not called early, the left-of-center United Front may develop some cohesion. Meanwhile the ruling Congress-I Party has numerous problems, being a mere outgrowth of Mrs. Gandhi's power. There are no remaining elected officers, and of the appointees, Mrs. Gandhi listens only to her son. Chief ministers have been thrown from office for reasons best known to the Prime Minister. Yet power has its attraction and the party survives, at least while Mrs. Gandhi remains in office.

Ram, Mohan. "Age of Uncertainty." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 January 1984, p. 24.

Indira Gandhi's Congress-I Party has been losing ground since 1982, and has lost six important states. The many opposition parties, smelling blood, have been engaged in a nonstop effort to organize into a cohesive group before the 1985 (if not earlier) elections. So far, however, although they fall into two general coalitions, one of the left, one of the right, they agree mainly on their dislike of the current Prime Minister. But they may be able to achieve a deadlocked Parliament, even if they cannot win the next election. In that case, Mrs. Gandhi's hope of establishing her son Rajiv as successor could be defeated by members of her own party seeking to protect their own survival.

Ram, Mohan. "Green but not Growing." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 January 1984, p. 44.

India's Green Revolution has bought time for food crisis planners, but per capita food consumption has not grown at the same pace as other indicators. Since 1980 India has reverted to food import policies after production became stagnant in 1977, despite increased use of fertilizers, water, and pesticides. Moreover, the benefits of the Green Revolution have been limited to farmers with secure water supplies. Large farmers have been the main recipients of the key inputs, despite evidence that mid-size cultivators make better use of resources. The author concludes that a social revolution will be necessary to finish the Green Revolution, if Indians are to eat better. A sidebar examines rice production.

Ram, Mohan. "Moscow's Dilemma." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 January 1984, p. 26.

Moscow's attempts to secure allies in the thickets of Indian politics have had ironic results: the Congress-I Party under Indira Gandhi has been a strong Soviet supporter. Moscow therefore instructed its original ally, the Communist Party of India (CPI), to cooperate with the government, which cost the CPI its public support in the late 1970s. However, a breakaway group, the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) has gained Chinese friendship and won increasing support for its ardent opposition to the current Prime Minister and her erstwhile friends, the CPI. The CPI now takes strong anti-Indira stands as well, which leaves the Congress-I as Moscow's best ally in India--which the Kremlin acknowledged by sending an observer to the Party centenary in December 1983.

Ram, Mohan. "The Sant Marches On." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 January 1984, p. 18.

Heads have begun to cool in the Punjab: the ban on large demonstrations has taken the pressure off minority Hindus and the police who previously were accused of using urban turbulence to mask the death of detainees under torture. The former chief minister, known for his inflammatory pronouncements, has finally been replaced under Presidential Rule by a man who can restore the government to the role of mediator. Compromises may be worked out not only on the immediate substantive issues, but also on the shape of government once elected rule is restored. However, the influence of radical Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, who is only 38 years old, will be felt for years to come.

Ram, N. "India's Nuclear Policy: A Case-Study in the Flaws and Futility of 'Non-Proliferation'." IDSA Journal, vol. XIV (April-June 1982), p. 445.

"This has been offered essentially as a critique of a discriminatory and ineffectively conceived nuclear non-proliferation posture from the standpoint of a specific case. . . ." This article reviews the Tarapur standoff between the United States and India, and provides a full history of the parameters of the nonproliferation proposals within the US policymaking

establishment. The author praises the Soviet Union for accepting Indian pledges to make peaceful use of nuclear technology and refrain from first use of nuclear weapons. Ram predicts that the issue will continue to dog Indo-US relations until Washington adopts the same conciliatory approach as the Soviets, though he doubts this will be allowed by those US politicians whom he designates as the "non-proliferation warriors." This is a valuable study for the thorough researcher of Indo-US contacts on the issue of nonproliferation.

Rao, P.V.R. India's Defence Policy and Organization since Independence. New Delhi: United Service Institution of India, 1977. 90 pp.

This pair of lectures, which was delivered to the United Service Institution in 1973, will give the regional military historian an insight into India's situation after the liberation of Bangladesh, relative first to the past, then to the future. More than that, it is a display of a keen mind addressing a difficult subject, and deftly interweaving the strands of history, science, culture, and persons. The author served as Secretary of State for Defence and switches from detail to overview with facility. He concludes that Pakistan is a military threat only in so far as it is backed by the United States; and that China has shown forbearance in the face of opportunities that indicates a genuine reluctance to undertake military adventurism in India.

Sen, Sumanta. "Cooking the Books." India Today, 31 December 1983, p. 113.

India's coal mines were nationalized 10 years ago, and have had poor performance ever since. Now a new chairman--who has straightened out the nationalized railroads over the last few years--has come into power and has discovered that many mines do not have the coal they claim to have, or have such poor quality stock that it cannot be sold. Chairman Gujral is expected to undertake close audits, and to reevaluate operations according to the facts. The results could have a major impact on India's energy projections.

Sen Gupta, Bhabani. Nuclear Weapons? Policy Options for India. New Delhi: Sage, 1983, 120 pp.

This concise work is a major in-depth look at India's nuclear options. Sen Gupta lays out these options in relation to China, Pakistan, and any combination of the two. After positing five scenarios relating to an Indian decision to test and deploy nuclear armaments, Sen Gupta places New Delhi's weapons program in the regional and global context, and speculates on the international reactions each of the options might trigger. Appended to the book is a seminar report authored by G. C. Katoch. This section provides valuable insights into Indian thinking on nuclear weapons, and details the comments made by noted analysts gathered during a 1982 topical seminar in New Delhi. (appendices)

Singh, Geetanjali. "Trying to Throw off the Shackles of the Past." Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 January 1984, p. 29.

Indian women are still expected to live by the code defined as "the sati complex"--self-sacrifice, even to the point of death, for husband and/or son. However, many Indian women now have obtained educations and jobs outside the home. Twenty-one percent of the workforce are women, but their concentration in unskilled agricultural labor makes them the first victims of mechanization. Women also account for 600,000 teachers, nearly 40,000 doctors, and three ambassadors, as well as the head of government. The article points out that most changes have not been the result of radical political movements, but of common women stretching their barriers by small degrees.

Thukral, Gobind. "Violent Ways." India Today, 15 January 1984, p. 63.

A little-known Akali radical has come forward to claim responsibility for the deaths of 35 Nirankaris, and has attempted to paint his group as the most extreme of the Sikhs. Meanwhile, the widow of a Sikh extremist from another faction has also called for violence against the Nirankaris, who were responsible for her husband's death. Many other groups reject such strategies, and even the extremist community is split. Two of the newest groups are strongly inimical to Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, who has been living in the Golden Temple for safety's sake. He may find himself insecure even there, as other radicals start using it for sanctuary and to enhance their public reputations.

Wadhwa, D.C. Re-Promulgation of Ordinances: A Fraud on the Constitution of India. Pune: Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1983. 259 pp.

The author has examined the ordinances of the State of Bihar and provided valuable documentation of the abuse of power by the executive with complicity by the lackadaisical legislature. Ordinances, which the executive may simply announce during the absence of the legislature, and which have the force of law, have over the years been replaced by successive decrees containing exactly the same provisions. The legislature has the responsibility for replacing ordinances with laws, but has failed to do so. Although this constitutional study sticks to its subject undramatically, it gives a picture of one of the practices by which Indian democracy has been so greatly corrupted from the dreams of its framers. (index, notes, tables)

#### NEPAL

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Dodd, Col. Norman L. "The Gurkhas in the British Army." The Army Quarterly and Defence Journal, July 1983, p. 317.

Nepal's most famous export is her fighting Gurkhas. This excellent article confirms that the transitional recruiting, training, and deployment of these men has been little interrupted by the end of the Empire, and that these soldiers deserve the fine reputation they enjoy. The author explains how Gurkhas are recruited, trained, housed, paid and used, pointing out that they are never used for internal security in Hong Kong, which might be politically unpalatable. The author points out that Nepal's excess of labor makes military service in the British Army highly attractive, and that in many Nepalese families, sons follow fathers into Gurkha regiments.

Gaborieau, Marc. "Peasants, Urban Traders and Rural Artisans: Muslim Minorities in the Kingdom of Nepal." Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, Winter 1981, p. 190.

The author uses the 1971 census and the field work of several social scientists to portray Nepal's Muslim minority as a small (3.03 percent) but secure group. Forbidden by law from proselytizing, they nevertheless are reproducing at a natural rate slightly ahead of their Hindu compatriots. This is not their only resemblance to Indian Muslims; Nepal's Muslims are primarily Indian immigrants and many of them return to India to work. However, because the Nepalese monarchy makes a point of preserving communal harmony and protecting religious minorities, Muslims feel safer in Nepal than in any other country descended from British India. Nor are Muslims necessarily the poorest Nepalese, for many of them have been able to preserve traditional sources of income. However, in Nepal, future wealth is most likely to depend on access to the royal court, which Muslims do not have, and which may lessen their status. The author emphasizes that most Nepalese Muslims have adopted caste systems, which is indicative of major religions' tendencies to graft onto, rather than attack, atavistic local customs.

Singh, Kedar Man. "Not on Top of the World." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 January 1984, p. 20.

This article describes, with rare attentiveness, the political groupings facing Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand, as well as the unusual political arena which King Birendra has designed for such contentions. Singh enumerates the accusations which are faced by the Prime Minister in current debates, and identifies the main agitation as coming from the pro-Soviet factions in the Panchayat. The Congress Party, which held power prior to the royal coup of 1961, insists it will not contest a guided election, but has begun moving toward cooperation with other groups who call for restoration of full democracy. A sidebar article discusses multilateral amelioration of the ecological disaster which, in an agrarian nation like Nepal, has meant death for thousands and adjustments for all.



## PAKISTAN

Aftab, Mohammad. "A Comradely Hug." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 January 1984, p. 50.

As Pakistan nears completion of its first steel mill, which has been built with substantial Soviet aid, the two countries have been exploring areas for continued economic cooperation. They have discovered that Pakistan's disastrous energy sector offers fertile ground for such assistance. The Soviets will build a thermal powerplant at Multan on a turnkey basis, and provide several deep-drilling oil rigs. Other agreements reached after a week in Moscow by Pakistan's Finance Minister include housing and enhanced trade. All terms of trade will be soft.

Asghar Khan, Mohammad. Generals in Politics: Pakistan 1958-1982. New Delhi: Vikas, 1983. 230 p.

In this book, which is banned in Pakistan, the former head of the Pakistan Air Force recounts his adventures as a military man turned politician. The early part of the book has a "present at the creation" narration of the introduction of military rule (Asghar Khan claims he opposed it), and follows with the author's high hopes for democracy, which were dashed in the 1971 debacle in Bangladesh. Asghar Khan next dwells on the politicians of the turbulent 1970s and their inability to accept the framework of government and loyal opposition. The unfolding of Z. A. Bhutto's autocratic personality led Asghar Khan to form his own political party. Much of the book is devoted to marches, detentions, press conferences, public letters, and other activities which he undertook under the 1973 (democratic) Constitution. He portrays himself as having been always desirous of nothing more or less than Western-style civil liberties. The final portion of the book is a predictably scathing portrait of Ziaul Haq's political career. Given Gen Asghar Khan's prominence in current Pakistani politics, the book has meanings which are not conveyed simply in its words.

Chopra, Surendra, ed. Perspectives on Pakistan's Foreign Policy. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1983. 467 pp.

This collection of essays by Indian and American scholars provides a view of its subject so comprehensive that there are separate chapters on all South Asian nations from the Pakistan point of view. The essays range from competent to excellent, and their biases similarly vary. The only country which consistently comes in for more abuse than India--toward which the authors show an acceptance bred of familiarity--is the United States. The scholarship is uniformly excellent, making this a useful reference work. (index)

Cohen, Stephen P. "Pakistan: Army, Society and Security." Asian Affairs, vol. 10 (Summer 1983), p. 1.

Cohen, a prominent analyst of political-military matters, describes professional challenges facing Pakistan's army. The officers interviewed express



little hesitation about injecting their organization into government, because this was also done by the British in emergency situations. However, the officers do worry that the generals in Islamabad will fail to relinquish power when a crisis has passed. In looking at the army's capacity for defending the nation, Cohen concludes that there is no combination of strategies and capabilities which would render Pakistan militarily impregnable, although a nuclear capability would enhance the diplomatic stature--which is Pakistan's method of survival. This is not to say, however, that any one answer will suffice for such a complex strategy. The article will interest anyone who considers civil-military relations, especially under the British tradition.

Haqqani, Husain. "The Disarmament Argument." Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 January 1984, p. 22.

This essay attempts to refute the myth of the "Islamic bomb" in general, and the Pakistani bomb in particular. Haqqani dismantles the ideas that: (a) nations such as Libya and Saudi Arabia could agree with each other over such a sensitive project; (b) they would agree to let the Pakistanis have the extensive funds and control implied in the actual building of it; (c) the Pakistanis would have anything to do with the leftwing range of Moslem nations on such a sensitive question. As to whether Pakistan itself is developing a bomb, the author quotes Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan as pointing out that India's delivery system could easily penetrate his relatively small nation, and that there is no Pakistani hope of matching that capability. Moreover, Pakistan's population, unlike India's, is concentrated in the Indus Valley and offers a lucrative bombing target. Thus, he says diplomacy and not bombing is Pakistan's only road to survival. However, Haqqani does conclude that the Pakistanis have the ability to make a nuclear weapon should they so decide.

Haqqani, Husain. "Last of the Bhuttos." Far Eastern Economic Review, 2 February 1984, p. 16.

Now that Benazir Bhutto has been exiled to seek medical treatment in Europe, factional splits in the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) have shown up. Some leaders wish to free themselves of the Bhuttos in order to seek legal status in the promised national elections. Others remain loyal to the memory of the executed former prime minister. However, PPP deputy leader Gulam Mustafa Jatoi is believed to be talking with the government and its ally, the Pir Pagara faction of the Muslim League. Jatoi probably does not want a continuing association with a banned party to delay or derail his role in the restoration of democracy.

Haqqani, Husain. "No Contest By Order." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 January 1984, p. 20.

When President Zia held a large open-air rally in Multan, a conservative town where previous national leaders have kicked off electoral campaigns, he was heard by a friendly crowd which gave approving answers to his rhetorical

questions. But he was speaking as an apolitical head of state because he has decided political parties are non-Islamic. However, with the final phase of Islamization (Sunni-style) set to go into effect next year, the President may see widening opposition from Muslims who are unwilling to alter their daily lives. A sidebar article points out that the current onion shortage (which is now being offset by purchases from India) is similar to past regime-threatening crises, and the government is taking no chances on a repetition of Bhutto's fate, whose regime was toppled by unrest triggered by similar commodity shortages.

Sen Gupta, Bhabani. Nuclear Weapons? Policy Options for India. New Delhi: Sage, 1983. 120 pp.

This concise work is a major in-depth look at India's nuclear options. Sen Gupta lays out these options in relation to China, Pakistan, and any combination of the two. After positioning five scenarios relating to an Indian decision to test and deploy nuclear armaments, Sen Gupta places New Delhi's weapons program in the regional and global context, and speculates on the international reactions each of the options might trigger. Appended to the book is a seminar report authored by G. C. Katoch. This section provides valuable insights into Indian thinking on nuclear weapons, and details the comments made by noted analysts gathered during a 1982 topical seminar in New Delhi. (appendices)

#### SOUTH ASIA

Shepherd, George W. "Developing Collective Self-reliance in the Zone of Peace." IDSA Journal, vol. XIV (July-September 1982), p. 19.

The author premises this work on the idea that the littoral and island states of the Indian Ocean are sincere in their desire to end the "tribute system" and to develop self-reliant defense. He concludes that despite practical difficulties, this is the only theoretical approach with a prospect of success. He then analyses some of the problems which have dogged the scheme, with a good discussion of the US upgrading of its military base at Diego Garcia. However, he notes the continuing failure of Afro-Asian states to limit conventional arms purchases, and the superpowers' lack of commitment to the idea of a Zone of Peace. The tone is open-minded, but with minimal attention to the gap between rhetoric and reality on the part of those who advocate the Zone of Peace. The author brings out the importance of such under-discussed island nations as the Seychelles and Mauritius.

#### SRI LANKA

Ali, Salamat. "Trouble in Tinsel-Land." Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 January 1984, p. 30.

Tamil Nadu is a south Indian state whose separate language spawned a patriotic non-Hindi film industry which in turn engendered a tradition of the

use of movie stardom to move into political power. Two such individuals have become arch rivals, leading their own parties. One is Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran, who has immense popularity in the many rural areas where he had provided social services and buildings. However, Tamil Nadu has severe poverty which threatens its agricultural productivity and the state has failed to attract substantial industrialization, thus leaving its citizens unable to compete successfully outside their home state. Cultural pride of xenophobic intensity has also forced the state to ignore the comings and goings of Sri Lankan Tamil terrorists during the nation's recent ethnic troubles. Mrs. Gandhi, whose party lost the state in 1967 and shows no signs of gaining it back, is considering various prospects for forming a coalition with either of the two popular leaders.

Chopra, Surendra, ed. Perspectives on Pakistan's Foreign Policy. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1983. 467 pp.

This collection of essays by Indian and American scholars provides a view of its subject so comprehensive that there are separate chapters on all South Asian nations from Pakistan's point of view. The essays range from competent to excellent, and their biases similarly vary. The only country which consistently comes in for more abuse than India--toward which the authors show an acceptance bred of familiarity--is the United States. The scholarship is uniformly excellent, making this a useful reference work. (index)

deSilva, Manik. "Around the Table." Far Eastern Economic Review, 2 February 1984, p. 20.

The author cites several major pitfalls which have been structured into the current political talks among the Sinhalese and Tamil community leaders. Most important, he says, is the agreement to allow everyone to air their grievances. Another problem is the Tamil demand for control of the eastern area, where both Muslims and Sinhalese Buddhists are unwilling to accept domination by the Tamils of Jaffna. Finally, there is the looming possibility of India's interest leading to a Bangladesh-like invasion.

deSilva, Manik. "Edging Forward." India Today, 31 December 1983, p. 120.

After this summer's violence by majority Sinhalese against Tamils, even hardline Sinhalese have acknowledged the decline of their country's international reputation. But, as deSilva points out, the average Sinhalese has in no way moderated his/her communal prejudice. Therefore, President Junius Jayawardene has sought to bring opposition leader Anura Bandaranaike (whose mother is former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike) into a coalition of Sinhalese interests. The hope is that by taking a bipartisan approach, the government will deprive radical Sinhalese of their platform. One problem remains: Mrs. Bandaranaike is still deprived of all civil rights, and there is some thought her son may bargain for their restoration in return for his cooperation with the government.

deSilva, Manik. "Paradise--and Hostage to the Past." Far Eastern Economic Review, 2 February 1984, p. 22.

Numerous strains have united to bring Sri Lanka to its present communal impasse. Sinhalese grievances reflect a millenium of South Indian invasions, but also economic dislocations from President Jayewardene's shift toward free enterprise. The Tamil minority with international connections has tended to benefit from the new system. Urban salaried workers are more affected by inflation than entrepreneurial Tamils--though the rural poor of both communities have suffered the most. In part, Tamil business success can be traced to the same British practices that left behind so many Indians in East Africa and Southeast Asia when the Empire broke up, but the Sri Lankans have not been willing to undertake Uganda's radical expulsion policy. The impasse is likely to endure.

Hyman, Anthony. "Long Division: Teaching a Bitter Lesson." Arabia, the Islamic World Review, December 1983, p. 17.

Under the British Empire, Sri Lanka's minorities progressed faster than the Sinhalese Buddhist majority. Although Tamil Hindus have suffered the most, Christians and Muslims from South India have also seen the Tamil language denied official status, Tamil citizenship arbitrarily curtailed, and Sinhalese use of government resources to stage a huge observance of Buddha's 2,500th birthday in 1956. Tamil youths have admired their terrorist companions, and the military, dominated by the Sinhalese, has taken drastic indiscriminate countermeasures in Tamil communities. The result is a country facing either slow strangulation as its credit rating plummets, or invasion by India, or the severance of a stillborn "Eelam" on its northern coast.